MAN!

"Man is the measure-ment of everything."

A Journal of the Anarchist Ideal and Movement

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A TARGET FOR DISGUST

I curse you Boston
City of Hypocrisy
City of Flatulence
(with your constipated laws)
Unclean City
(with your atlantic monthlies
and your approaching
change of life)

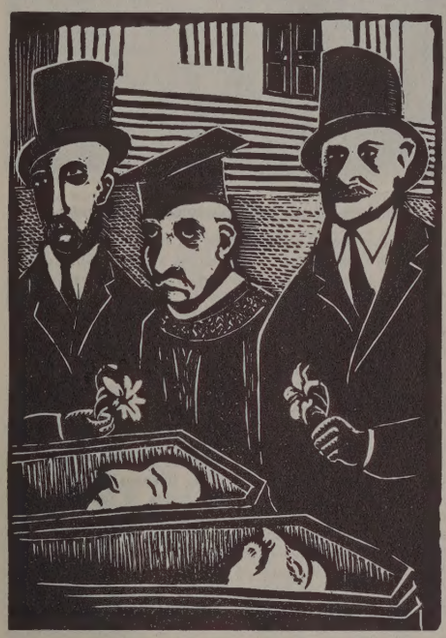
I curse you
in the name of Aknaton I curse you
in the name of Rimbaud I curse you
in the name of Van Gogh I curse you
your belly is a nest of worms
your breasts tubercular
you have a falling of the womb
you are an ulcer on the
face of the earth
leprous

hogs vomit when they approach you
City of Stink-Stones
City of Dead Semen
with your Longfellows and your Lowells
there is no Aphrodisiac can revive you
it is too late
there is no Phallus can stir
you to madness
it is too late
too late for you to cleanse
yourself with Sun
Aphelion

City of Tea Rooms
whose beverage is
the water of the Dead Sea
whose food is Salt Peter
and the juices of cod

City of Invalids
City of Fetid Breath
Walled in by shadow
Sunless

your Libraries are clogged
with Pamphlets and Tracts
but of Ulysseses
you have none



From a Painting of Ben Shahm by D. Chun.

The Modern Pilates

The three figures holding the flowers are: President Abbott Lawrence Lowell of Harvard University, Judge Robert Grant and President Samuel W. Stratton of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology —the three despicable modern pilates—who acted as the last official henchmen—by recommending on August 7, 1927—that the legal lynching of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti should be carried out.

but of Gertrude Steins
you have none
but of Maldorors
you have none
your Churches are crowded
with Sabbatarians
but of Prophets
you have none
but of Fanatics
you have none
but of Sun-Gods
you have none

you are an Abomination
Unphallic City of Pulp
and I would rather defile a
dead body than uncover
your nakedness
and I would rather spill out
my seed upon the ground
than come near to you
and I would rather dwell
in the volcanos of hell
than dwell in your midst
City of Swan-Boats
City of Frog-Ponds
you are an Abomination
a perpetual sore
a target for disgust

and in the name of
the Sun
and the Moon
and the Stars
and in the name of the Mad Queen
I curse you
Boston City of Hypocrisy.

Harry Crosby (*)

(*) The above poem is taken from a volume of prose and poems: **Mad Queen-Tirades** by Harry Crosby. (The Black Sun Press, Rue Cardinale, Paris, France). The author, then residing in Paris, forwarded the volume to me. It came after **"An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry"** was already printed. Otherwise the above poem—dedicated to Sacco and Vanzetti—would certainly have been gladly included. Tired of a caricatured civilization in which we carry on, Crosby ended his own life in 1931.—**Editor.**

"LONG LIVE ANARCHY!" —— Nicola Sacco

The Background History of the Sacco and Vanzetti Judicial Murder

Those who had not forgotten the roots of each and all the elements upon which sprung the intricacies of the seven year case that was to close (close?) the Sacco and Vanzetti frame-up, were not surprised to see the official Labor Movement take a stand of indifference toward the Anarchist martyrs, and to witness Mr. William Green, when the tragedy was approaching and the whole world was being moved to a last effort to save them, sending his solidarity to governor Fuller, accompanied by such timid reservations as were more firmly expressed by many a bourgeois liberal openly ignoring Labor's vindications.

They were not surprised at all, because they knew that all the powers—national or otherwise—which had been united against the ideals for which Sacco and Vanzetti had fought, could not afford to separate in the end, when the long fight was bound to bear its most coveted fruits: the attempt to crush Anarchism.

Lest we forget: Sacco and Vanzetti had been arrested on the fifth day of May 1920—two days after the "Salsedo Homicide." They had been arrested at the instigation of the Secret police of Mr. Flynn because they were supposed to be friends of Coacci's and Boda's, because they were supposed to be Anarchists and therefore subject to deportation. Their arrest was an incident in the Palmer general crusade against the red alien elements in the community, and in the particular Flynn crusade against the Italian Anarchists presumably connected with **"Cronaca Sovversiva."**

They were not arrested as robbers or murderers: this charge fell on them only later, two days or so after their arrest. It fell on them at a moment when the Massachusetts police bitterly censored by public opinion on account of its incapacity to solve local crime mysteries, was badly in need of somebody upon whom to lay the South Braintree crime. Here were two Anarchists to be disposed of one way or the other. Their most misunderstood, unpopular beliefs made it not only convenient, but relatively easy for the police, to obtain conviction on manufactured evidence in a Massachusetts puritan court.

Lawyer Vahey—most despicable of Katzmann's accomplices and, later, his partner in the law business—told Vanzetti before the Plymouth trial, i. e., long before the indictment of Sacco and Vanzetti for the South Braintree crime: "They will send you to the electric chair, together with Sacco, for the South Braintree murder." These words spread some light about the time the frame-up was presumably conceived: at that time not a single witness, not even Miss Splaine, identified Sacco and Vanzetti as the South Braintree robbers. But Katzmann had already planned his crime; and feeling certain he would attain conviction communicated his certitude to his accomplice Vahey, who betrayed Vanzetti by whom he was being paid.

If the Massachusetts police was in a very bad plight, at that time, U. S. Attorney General Mitchell Palmer's Secret Service was in no better position. "The Salsedo Homicide" had awakened popular feeling against the federal police violations of constitutional liberty and human life. Then followed the news widely broadcasted that the South Braintree Anarchist murders had been apprehended and secured to justice. This move was well timed for it served to placate local resentment against the Massachusetts police, and popular resentment throughout the country against the bloody deeds of the Secret Service murders, in their crusade against Reds. After all, Salsedo was but an alien Anarchist of their class.

Sacco and Vanzetti were since then marked as the last of war victims.

How then could Mr. Green, how could the A. F. of L. separate their responsibility from that of the federal government concerning an episode directly proceeding from the war policy, when it was a matter of common knowledge that since 1916 Gompers, in the name of the A. F. of L., had pledged his unrestricted support to the federal government in the pursuit of all war policies and in the persecution of all war opponents? The American Federation of Labor had been created for the purpose of counteracting from the inside of the Labor movement the radical tendencies it had at its beginning. But now, by its wholehearted support of the Wilson administration and war policies, of the Morgan interests and of the Wall Street financial speculations in the great conflict, it had made itself one of the strongest pillars of "law and order" in the American system of things: the law of Mitchell Palmer, and the order of the Wall Street suppliers of allied belligerents. Now, the press exultations over the arrest of two dangerous Anarchists, over the conviction for robbery and murder of two hated enemies of country, of God, of civilization, were precisely meant to reconsecrate the sanctity of such "law and order"; to give credit to the Massachusetts police for its capacity to protect life and property; to conceal from public opinion and emotion the truth about the Secret Service illict practices in saving the country from the "moral rats" of revolution.

The magistrates' words and attitudes during the Plymouth and Dedham trials reveal a constant preoccupation on their part to point to the defendants' aversion to the war, their social, economical and religious beliefs; in fact, to stir the jury's prejudices, their patriotic sentiments especially, against the men whose lives were in their hands. And if the jury did not believe the testimonies of a score or more witnesses sustaining Sacco's and Vanzetti's alibis, it is not because they believed those witnesses to be bad characters —none of them was ever indicted for perjury—but because their patriotism, their loyalty to this country appeared doubtful to them. Stirred by patriotic propaganda to such a pitch of fanaticism which made anything but justice possible, they must have felt that nothing could be higher than the country—not even the truth—and nothing truer than what constituted authority, bound to save the fatherland from these alien Anarchists, would say. Sacco and Vanzetti had opposed the war "to make the world safe for democracy," they were avowed atheists, disbelievers in government, rebellious to all the sacred things that good behaving citizens accept; they could certainly commit any villain deed the great Commonwealth of Massachusetts saw fit to try and convict them of. Those witnesses might well be innocent well-meaning folk, but most of them were strangers, insufficiently alive to the great task of saving God's country from the snares of such "moral rats." They could not possibly rise to the supreme feeling of loyalty

—"there is no better word in the English language"—which the country's safety demands of its children in the moment of danger.

The well-groomed, one hundred per cent American, A. F. of L. bureaucracy had assisted impassively, or rather, actively aiding the federal government and the States in their war time persecutions of radicals, to the bloody crusade which culminated in wholesale deportations and convictions and assassinations; then, to the seven year martyrdom of Sacco and Vanzetti, not long since been revealed as an odious conspiracy to murder two honest men, but counteracting all and any suggestion of interference emanating from the lower, more sensitive and less prostituted strata of organized labor, who thought that the workers of America had the duty to demand that justice be done in Dedham. The fat bureaucracy of the A. F. of L.—the "labor lieutenants of American Capitalism," as Mark Hanna called them—were to destroy seven years of indifference or active support of the prospective murderers of Sacco and Vanzetti, by an eleventh hour intervention in their favor . . . It would have meant a complete repudiation of their attitude in the past, during and after the war; more than that: an abrupt repudiation of the historical attitude of the American Federation of Labor toward radicalism.

They could not, they were not the men to afford such radical repudiation at that moment when all the responsibilities—domestic and foreign—in the great crime of the war were convening to the support of governor Fuller, to assist him, to cover him in the consummation of the last war crime. They sent the Green appeal to the governor's mercy for the doomed Anarchists, which was in itself Labor's official acknowledgement of their guilt, of Massachusetts' justice rectitude.

No one was missing at the last act of the sombre tragedy; Capitalism was voicing from its press that: "a first class hanging from time to time is beneficial to the common weal"; Plutocracy was proclaiming from the pen of one Guggenheim scion of a dynasty of pirates, the candidacy of Fuller to the White House, and then President Coolidge was clearing the way to the governor's most ambitious hope by "not choosing to run"—on August the Second; liberalism invoked prompt execution with Senator Borah, as an answer to intolerable foreign popular interference with God's own country's domestic affairs; Pilate-judges, from the State and federal benches, washed their hands in front of the "pollice verso" gilded mob, the Massachusetts Legion were mobilizing to the defense of their governor, judges and college professors (with a few exceptions in the later phase) assembled to give the final approval to the death warrants, and the church to sanctify them; while from London to Tokio, the armies of all nations were being called to the protection of the American Embassies and to the repression of popular resentment against the Boston murders.

There was no falling off; the war front was reconstituted in its most efficient class character for the solemn circumstance in which the people and the vested interests found themselves facing each other on a world wide scale of unprecedented proportions: from medieval fascist Italy to the most democratic French republic, all the governments of the world adhered to the stern American government's will to murder. General Foch, the spirit incarnate itself of war, saluted in those days "most warmly" the American legionnaires about to convene to Paris for their annual congress; and the French ambassador Cloudel wrote for the public benefit that: "the very first day I laid foot on American soil, the very first letter my eyes fell upon was an invitation by the Massachusetts American Legionnaires to pay them a visit; and my first step as an ambassador out of my official residence, was to pay them a visit. And my first official word was to tell my friends and associates in Boston: **I am with you.**" Ambassador Claudel did not add: 'For the Murder of Sacco and Vanzetti"—but, which carried practically the same meaning—he said: "In the name of my country I paid my respects to the Governor, to the Mayor, to H. E. the Cardinal, to the Army and Navy Chiefs. I ALSO HAD THE PRIVILEGE TO BE RECEIVED BY THE MAGISTRATES OF MASSACHUSETTS." What more could he say, at that crucial moment when all the ruling institutions of Boston and Massachusetts were being discussed by anxious humanity the world over, to mean that his country, the fatherland of "The rights of man" bowed reverently to the infamy of Massachusetts justice?

It was truly a carnival of eager bloodthirsty jackals, which revealed how far and how deeply had proceeded the prostitution of foreign governments and vested interests to the supremacy of American plutocracy.

Such had been the work of the great war. For the first time it had revealed the intimate solidarity of international finances. From the beginning it had appeared to Anarchist observers as the private enterprise of the great industrial and banking interests of the world. When the allied powers succeeded in securing the financial support of the Morgan firm, it appeared evident that American intervention in the great struggle had become only a matter of time.

We know that you (Judge Thayer) have spoken yourself, and have spoke your hostility against us, and your despisement against us with friends of yours in the train, at the University Club of Boston, at the Golf Club of Worcester. I am sure that if the people who know all that you say against us have the civil courage to take the stand, maybe your Honor—I am sorry to say this because you are an old man, and I have an old father—but maybe you would be beside us in good justice at this time.

I would not wish to a dog or to a snake, to the most low and misfortunate creature of the earth—I would not wish to any of them what I have had to suffer for things that I am not guilty of. I am suffering because I am a radical and indeed I am a radical; I have suffered because I was an Italian, and indeed I am an Italian; I have suffered more for my family and for my beloved than for myself; but I am so convinced to be right that you can only kill me once but if you could execute me two times, and if I could be reborn two other times, I would live again to do what I have done already.

BARTOLOMEO VANZETTI.

America, dominated from the very beginning of its history as an independent power, by the property interests of the privileged class, was sure to intervene with the full weight of its enormous resources "to protect the life and prop-

Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti

erty (the property above all) of its citizens." And in 1916 when the preparedness wave started at home, and in 1917 when the great "idealistic" president of democracy declared war, American property bound to the allied chances of victory amounted to many billions. From that moment, when exhausted and mutilated by a three years tremendous slaughter, all European nations were on the verge of collapse, begins American supremacy in the world.

Very few at the time understood the real meaning of the war, and the Anarchists, whose opposition to the slaughter of millions of innocent people who had nothing at stake but their master's riches and pride, was supposed to be only a sentimental attitude, understood on the contrary that through the mechanism of war finances capitalism was concentrating its power into the hands of few gold lords among whom the vultures nested in Wall Street would take a leading place; that adherence to the war was downright treason of the unpropertied class and of social revolution; that any loyal vanguard of progress and civilization was bound to resist the universal folly of the patriotic mobs, cold bloodedly led, through the bridle of ignorance and prejudice, to their own suicide by an unscrupulous band of business pirates.

The fight against war was the fight against Wall Street and its Washington politicians; and Anarchists waged it to the best of their ability almost alone, with a minority of hated and persecuted dissenters, with courage and fortitude equal only to the inferiority of the means they could command. No, they did not succeed in putting a stop to the war or in saving a single life from the wild butchering overseas. Their stand bore them only persecutions, imprisonment and death. Their courageous attitude was slandered by the paid supporters of privilege, misunderstood by the obnubilated exploited class; ignored by many who, through prejudice, failed to grasp its historical meaning. But they succeeded in raising a thunderous voice of revolt in the midst of the general submission of the American people to the bloody cult of the "golden calf," in erecting a fighting trench for the militant soldiers of liberty, justice and social emancipation, to which rallied, from ocean to ocean, men and women, old and young, to voice their reprobation of the terrible crime against humanity that was being consummated.

And when from that trench fell the best of our comrades: Mooney, Billings, Marucco, Clair, Salsedo, Sacco and Vanzetti and many others, the surviving ones branded the flaming flag of our hopes in a better future and pointed, to the suffering multitudes of the earth, the Wall Street cavern of greed, as the last refuge of the eternal enemy of human kind: privilege.

Wall Street! the many-headed monster of greediness and ferocity whose murderous claws reach the remotest nations on earth! There, in its golden heart, centers counter revolution. Its hirelings travel the year over, from country to country, from continent to continent in search of profit, of poor peoples to exploit to death, of armies of unconscious derelicts to hurl against armies of equally unconscious derelicts maddened by ignorance and blood. In Germany as well as in China, in Italy as well as in Russia, in Europe as well as in any country of the two Americas, you will find them everywhere speculating, intrigueing, persecution of the poor, exhaltation of the rich is fermenting. Yellow, white or black people, it is of no concern to them, as long as there is a profit to pocket, a shame to protect, a tyranny to support, or a human right to trample upon.

They call this the country of liberty and of equal opportunity.

Mr. Gustavus Myers (in his "History of American Fortunes" and "History of the Supreme Court") has proved, many years since, how and why it is, on the contrary, the land of unlimited power for the rich, how and why its Government and its Supreme Court are faithful servants of capital. And Mr. James Oneal, (in "The History of American Workers") on his part, has proved how and why the working people have always been cruelly exploited, how and why they have been called or forced to these shores for no other reason than to be exploited and oppressed, with no guarantee of right or life. But who wants to read ponderous volumes? No one, though, may have failed to remark how sudden had been president Wilson's conversion to the war—he had been a pacifist all his life and in 1916 ran for president as a pacifist "because he kept us out of the war." And one need not have been endowed with a special gift of shrewdness, to notice how eagerly the richest of the country flocked to Washington during the war to manage themselves and directly—under the patriotic travesty of "dollar-men"—the war policy, which was nothing but their private affair.

The end of the war came: but the hungry flock did not release its grasp of public affairs. In 1927 Kellogg—not yet a famous pacifist—was conquering Central America for Wall Street; Mellon with its dollars was directing European fascism with an eye particularly attentive to the Italian medieval experiment; the Dawes plan was arming the German imperial "steel helmets"; Coolidge, under whose governorship the Sacco and Vanzetti case had begun, was doing his best to show his assent to their legal lynching, and Morgan, preceded by the American flag, was leading the eager Wall Street mob to adventure and plunder, hailed in all parts of the world as the economic lord of salvation, everywhere received by rulers of bankrupt nations with royal honors . . . with meek submission.

That was the general situation on August 22, 1927.

How could foreign governments dare to represent to the American government their people's apprehensions for the fate of the "honest shoemaker and the poor fish peddler", laying in the Charlestown "death chamber" for a crime the whole world felt they had not committed?

Foreign governments, being political instruments of the capitalist class, did not care to interfere with what Massachusetts calls its justice. They refused to voice the horror of their people for the crime that was about to be committed, and turned their guns against them in the sacred name of "law and order." They confessed their visible dependence from the American will.

Not the people, though, not the workers, not those, be they white, or yellow, or black, who have no vested interests to defend at the price of shame and crime, who have instead, some respect for life and justice. Not a few who in a first spontaneous impetus of outraged conscience had raised their voice against the crime, compromised later with their conscience and submitted to the supreme argument of power, money and brutality, consoling themselves that life is often a necessary compromise. So the oppressed class found itself almost alone around the burned corpses of its martyrs.

It is the pride of the rank and file of the exploited and oppressed multitudes to ignore the shame of corrupt compromise: they give free unrestricted expression to their generous emotions, and to them Sacco and Vanzetti remain the symbols of crucified justice, the immortal standard bearers, in the sky of their hopes, of final liberation from the barberous slavery imposed on them by the capitalistic system. It was a momentous circumstance that behind the bars of Massachusetts prisons lay for so many years men of such a character. Their courage, their voice, their martyrdom appealed to the suffering ones to the farthest regions of the world. The cause they stood for, the ideals they proclaimed unafraid from their cells for seven torturing years, wakened many a conscience, opened many a heart to the vivifying rays of hope. Their fortitude in resisting so cruel an ordeal, the serene calmness they displayed to the last moments, imposed even to their most ferocious enemies: they died the death of martyrs confessing their faith in the future of Anarchy and social rehabilitation of mankind.

* * * *

Anarchism had its first consecration in America forty-six years ago with the generous holocaust of the Chicago Martyrs, and has grown afterwards into an impetuous social movement throughout the world, amidst furious hurricanes of hate and bloody tempests of steel and lead, wrathfully banished from the pale of human laws.

But the crazy delirium of republican or monarchist hangmen cannot stop the Nemesis. The Chicago Martyrdom became the beacon for the workers of the entire world, who look at it for inspiration and spiritual guide in the supreme moments of their lives, and in the daily strife for their elevation. That beacon flamed from the hands of Bresci and of Czolgosz in the days when frail human beings reach the top of heroic glory; and from the hands of Joe Hill and Salsedo in the days of inspiring martyrdom. The "dreadful utopia" is still banished from society; but Sacco and Vanzetti, from the depth of their cells, have proclaimed it—during more than seven years—as the ultimate end of human aspirations, and they encountered sympathy, solidarity and encouragement from millions and millions of suffering people. And the day their voices were choked, their last words: "Viva l'Anarchia" echoed in the hearts of the multitudes; and the streets of old puritan murderous Boston saw—in spite of its hangmen, governors, judges and gunmen—five hundred thousand people bid the sacrificed ones their last salute, and proclaim for Anarchism the right of citizenship on American soil.

That moment, was really their triumph. And, in the same time, the triumph of the ideals they had lived, fought and died for.

Caesar.

* * * *

Politics, i. e., precisely nothing else than the functioning or manifestation both internal and external of State action, that is to say, the practice, or art and science of dominating and exploiting the masses in favour of the privileged classes.—Michael Bakunin.

I never knew, never heard, even read in history anything so cruel as this Court. After seven years prosecuting they still consider us guilty. And these gentle people here are arrayed with us in this court today.

I know the sentence will be between two classes, the oppressed class and the rich class, and there will be always collision between one and the other. We fraternize the people with books, with the literature. You persecute the people, tyrannize them and kill them. We try the education of the people always. You try to put a path between us and some other nationality that hates each other. That is why I am here today on this bench, for having been of the oppressed class. Well, you are the oppressor.

NICOLA SACCO.

THE BETTER GOVERNMENTS

V. Aretta

Two things seem to be the hardest to eradicate from man's head—the belief in the real existence of an unseen, invisible, absurd being, "creator" of the Universe, and the belief in the necessity or usefulness of a political body ruling the troubled waters of human societies.

Now, the belief in a creator, in a divinity, in spirits, I can perfectly understand, such superstitions having come down to us from our four-footed and biped ancestors. A horse trotting in the moonlight often rears upon sighting a moving shadow, caused by a little branch coming out of a hedge and agitated by the night breeze—that's a mysterious phenomenon to him, therefore, awesome; and he would, perhaps, if he could, give that shadow some of his feed to quiet it.

What the savage fears the most is the whistling of the wind at night. That's nothing less, in his childish mind, than myriads of spirits claiming victims. The spirits are all-powerful, blood-thirsty enemies, even when they are supposed to dwell in a toad or a piece of bark. The mysterious, the invisible, the unknown, frightens. Hence, religion, that is, the worshiping, honoring, offering to a "spirit," in order to placate its ire, make friends with it and obtain favors and absolution for his mortal or venial errors.

I can also understand the reactionary mind of a ruling class, which naturally cherishes a reactionary government body. Neither is it strange that a liberal bourgeois, while believing in the "necessary evil," defends a "better" government, that is, one closing now and then an eye on the revolutionary press and speach and allowing the people to imagine they it is who make laws and have their say in the **RES PUBLICA.** This type, though loving his birthplace, may admire countries with more liberal institutions, defend them and even march in the event of a war, against countries having more bestial and barbarous rulers. Good and well. He doesn't stop to think of the reactionary nature of all government, he doesn't suspect that that dear government of his may change to the worse at any moment, without notice.

But it has always been a puzzle to me how an Anarchist may see a difference in governments, how an Anarchist may side with a certain government while opposing the others. He is an Anarchist just because he has understood the nature of that machinery. On account of the latter's existence we've got to endure all sorts of social iniquities. Where is such myth, a better government?

Of course, there are countries where, for an undetermined period of safety feeling and silent "watchful waiting" on the part of the authorities, we may publish, almost openly, a revolutionary paper, hold meetings, deliver lectures, etc. England, France, Switzerland, the United States of America are considered lands of liberty, and we run from one of these countries to the other, in the eternal search of the right place to hoe in and do what propaganda of our ideas we are able to do. But, will there always be the same cock-sure or shrewd actors on the farcical stage—these actors, who, despite persecution, clubbing, jailing, torturing, hanging, are still able to make believe they are liberal and even just and humane?

The Italian people, in spite of the frequent encounters with the police and jail sentences, were once supposed to be on the threshold of a revolution. And, indeed, the last Anarchist paper—**"IL LIBERTARIO"** of Spezia--came to us until just before Italy went to war. Wasn't the Italian government more liberal than the Austrian? Surely! Under the bigoted Franz Josef's rule, in time of peace and calm, even **"L'ASINO"** (the **JACKASS**) was prohibited in Austria; while that humoristic, anti-clerical weekly was published in Rome right under the nose of the pope. Then, after the war, the Peninsula was again conspicuous for the number of periodicals and dailies of every revolutionary shade. The people's enthusiasm and determination for a change toward more liberty and less exploitation had reached the zenith—What happened?

Well, that blessed government institution whose business is to bleed the people to death and crush whoever attacks the established "order" and the "vested interests," was given a thoro cleaning and refurnished with hounds fit for the circumstances. It was time for the ruling classes to play the last card in order to avoid self-destruction. They needed a filibuster, a desperado, a shameless blood-thirsty monster that would embark on the perilous enterprise of saving the tattering barrack by boldly trampling upon the Constitution and returning to the good old days of the Spanish Inquisition. They found the desperate soul in the obscene person of Benito Mussolini, the renegade who had always dreamed of a chance to get out of the pecuniary gutter and at the same time have the sincere friends of liberty, together with the "luke-warm politicians," murdered by his newly-appointed cut-throats. Was the nature of this government better than any other's? If logics isn't enough to convince every thinking being that a wolf is always a wolf at heart, no matter how you may paint him, the facts have demonstrated it clearly.

The government had lately donned the republican cloak in Germany. Oh! now that the Kaiser and the Junkers had—theoretically—been kicked out of the scene, we could relieve our minds of that troublesome "dogma" derived from the anarchic doctrine. which considers **ALL** governments' nature predatory and reactionary. But the paranoiac Hitler appeared, surrounded by the most savage ignoramuses of the land of **KULTUR,** and the millenarian institution cloak was torn down at the time of **DEUTSCHLAND UEBER ALLES . . .**

The little Uruguay, too, has played her part in showing that the anarchist "dogma" has its roots in the bitter age-old experience. The President of this comparatively quiet South-American Country was not a bad one, altho he was absolute boss and amassed millions by letting the English capitalists and the Standard Oil and West India Co. impoverish the people ever more. That President appeared well meaning at the time of his election three years ago, when he swore he would at the end of two years resign in behalf of a college directing the public affairs—that being the will of the people. Unfortunately, the job was a too fat and desirable one to be renounced so lightly. Two years passed, and Senor Terra was there yet. And on March 31 of this year, through a coup d'etat, a state of siege and exiles of undesirables he reaffirmed his "right" to remain in power, to be, in fact, a real dictator. Moral: Do not invest any man with a power or privilege for any length of time; he's liable to keep it by any means and give you bitter surprises.

But what strikes one principally is the difference some comrades—few luckily—make between a war implicating Russia and a war without Russia. They say a war between Russia and other Powers would be disastrous to the Russian Proletariat.

I confess I am unable to see this difference; I cannot understand why a war between other nations would be less disastrous for the people in general. Is the Bolshevik perchance less bestial and tyrannical than other governments? Is it less insanely barbaric toward the Proletariat? Indeed, so far, it has proven the worst on this planet—Stalin's cut-throats spoil, jail, torture, exile incessantly, summarily, more blindly and fiendishly than the late Czar's blood-hounds and tormentors. What difference does it make to me whether I am exiled and legally assassinated by the so-called Communists or the savage Nazis or the fanatical neurotics of republican and democratic **MARIANNE?** All governments are alike to me as long as they all are in the way of real progress and civilization, as long as they all train their subjects to hate and kill the brother across the border as well as the murmuring enslaved and famished masses at home. No government ever did or ever will or can stop before any carnage, any treason for the sake of retaining and increasing its power. And it's perfectly natural; that's what it is there for, what ever its attire.

Of course, the fanatic Bolshevik—Communists either say it's only temporary terroism or it is not true altogether. Nevertheless, the lesson of Uruguay shows the fallacy of all promise from above. As to the veracity of our assertions, Victor Serge has something to say about today's Russia. Victor Serge was an Individualist and, to make it worse, he called himself Anarchist-Individualist. In truth, he was no Anarchist at all, as he always sided with the oppressors. Neither was he an Individualist in the sense that he, as does every true Anarchist, championed the well-being, independence, freedom of the **INDIVIDUAL,** of all individuals in a Community or Society. Not he. His ideal was the emerging of his own personality above all the other human beings, without the least thought for the personality of the others. The victory of the Bolshevik Party offered him a good chance to join the dictators. The massacre of Kronstadt, the execution of Anarchists, Socialists and Syndicalists, the never-ending persecutions and murdering en masse of mujiks left him cold. Indeed, wasn't that the only way his personality could, in his opinion, triumph? Yet, the infamies perpetrated by order of the Kremlin gods began of late to be repugnant even to a Victor Serge, and the terrible individualist has been arrested by the same privileged hyenas he had so enthusiastically joined.

In a letter from Russia he informs his friends in France of many shameful deeds by that government, among which are the following:

> "We should never forget that a human being is a human being. It is just what is forgotten here daily, under my eyes, everywhere; it's this which is of most revolting, most anti-socialistic. . . . This continuous use of the death penalty is an unqualified, reactionary, repugnant, demoralizing, abomination. And that, in time of peace! In the most powerful State in the world! . . . Human life has become so cheap here, the tragedy is so gruesome, that every death sentence is damnable under such regime. . . . Equally abominable and unjustifiable is the repression—by exile, deportation, nearly perpetual jailing—of any disagreement in the workers' movement." . . .

So much as to the Bolshevik government.

Now, how about the Russian people still eager to overthrow the barbarous regime and go ahead with their interrupted Revolution? Won't their aspirations be poisoned by a war? Won't a war cause a set-back of the emancipation ideas, strengthen militarism and nationalism, kill the international spirit, make the workers beyond the frontiers enemies again, retard the people's brotherhood?

Quite true. But that, in my opinion, applies to every people, not alone to the Russian. The Italians, for instance, are eager to start a revolution just as the Russian, the Spanish, the French, the Argentinian peoples are. In a sense, we are all children of interrupted revolutions. War, so profitable for the international financiers, is disastrous to every proletarian on this earth, not only to those under the heel of Stalin's Cossacks.

We can only hasten the fall of one and all of them by direct action, from the bottom, with the people. Doing otherwise, we play the game of the oppressors. Never again must we assist to the "painful spectacle" of some dear comrades of ours having a certain weakness for this or that government, as we did during the World War.

In the Struggle for Freedom

Life-term convictions of three more of the Southeastern Kentucky miners convicted for murder conspiracy in connection with the battles between miners and deputies at Evarts in 1913, have lately been affirmed by the state court of appeals. This makes five in all. Appeals of Al Benson, Jim Reynolds and Chester Poore are the latest passed upon; earlier sentences of W. B. Jones and William Hightower were upheld.

Two other convicted defendants are awaiting the high court's decision on their cases—Elzie Phillips and William Hudson. In August also the appeal of William Burnett will be dealt with. Burnett got three years in prison for wounding a deputy. He pleaded self-defense in his trial, various witnesses corroborating his contention that a party of raiding deputies fired on a group of miners without provocation. —*American Civil Liberties Union News Letter.*

* * * *

"Free access to the world of matter, abolishing land monoply; free access to the world of mind, abolishing idea monoply; free access to an untaxed and unprivileged market, abolishing tariff monoply and money monoply—secure these, and all the rest shall be added unto you."—Benjamin R. Tucker.

Education and Our Children

Jo Ann Wheeler

Dear Marcus: I once rashly promised you an article on education never dreaming it would prove such a difficult task. Scotty says that the more one tries to theorize about such a subject the more of a fool one feels—(and possibly becomes!) I doubt if there's another subject in which theory is so thoroughly divorced from practice. Nevertheless Scotty and I do have a few principles which we have evolved from our own experience for our own guidance in the education of Shelley and Jon Thoreau.

It goes without saying that we feel the country is the only place for the physical, mental and spiritual growth of children—adults too, tho that's getting away from the subject.

After the contacts I myself have had, both as pupil and teacher, with many varieties of schools I feel I should as soon entrust my children to a convent as to a school of any kind. I believe that even the most progressive of the "free" schools, inasmuch as they take a child from his normal home surroundings and create an artificial environment for him, are just as apt to leave him unable to cope with some of life's hard, rock-bottom situations as any public school with its insistence upon memorization of book facts. Freely admitting that with their emphasis upon freedom and creative work, on "learning by doing," they are far superior to the public schools, we still maintain that schools of any kind are unnecessary for the sort of education we consider desirable.

Just what that education consists of is rather difficult to put simply. First of all we want Shelley and Jon to have all the freedom possible, limited only, as everyone's freedom is limited by natural circumstances over which no one has any control, and further, by contact with other personalities for as our country is curtailed by their demands and needs, so, sometimes, must theirs be curtailed by ours. I have no patience with those who "sacrifice all" for their children—poor kids!—any more than I have with those who sacrifice their children's welfare to the pursuit of their own selfish pleasure. There's a happy medium, but you needn't tell me that it's hard to tell where to draw the line. I know it. I suppose it's fairly safe to say that when in doubt one ought to decide in favor of the kids.

Next, we are firmly convinced that education to be of value must be a part of everyday life, not something acquired by going to a specified building for a specified number of hours until a specified age is reached. I have listened to many arguments concerning the desirability of letting children have responsibility. How else will they acquire self-confidence and mastery of themselves? We have responsibilities as a part of our grown-up life, and aren't we a bit too fond of excluding children from this world of ours with a "Don't bother me now, I'm busy," or "Run away and play"? I don't mean necessarily that we should burden them with financial worries or other responsibilities beyond their powers, but by exercising a little patience we can allow them to help in many ways, and we can accept their help in the same spirit we should from an adult.

In a normal farm life work and play are so intermingled as sometimes to be indistinguishable one from the other. Shelley is not yet three but she gets a great deal of happiness out of "helpin' Doey Ann wee-ah." She "washes" the dishes while I "rinse" them, she assists with the kneading of bread or rolls, or mixing of corn-batter, or gathers parsley and other vegetables for the soup-pot. She has her own Shelley size broom, and hoe and rake. Jon, too, will have the same things for another of our belief is that there is no such thing as "girls' work" or "boys' work." If Jon should prefer sewing or baking while Shelley has an aptitude for hammer and saw, so be it.

All of these things are play to children but imperceptibly they learn to take their place in our work-a-day world,—an important and well respected place—and not in a sheltered niche on the outskirts of life. Thru this "play" they gradually learn the homely arts of growing and preparing food or preserving it for winter use, the care of animals and pets, the sewing and mending and washing of clothes, or the gathering of wood for fuel. They go with us on our walks in the woods or ride with us thru country by-ways; together we enjoy music, painting and drawing, dancing and singing and other things of the sort. One thing only do they lack and that is companionship of other small children so that they might retreat from this adult world of ours at times. Yet they seem to have happy times together and it may be possible some day for them to have more child companionship. I have said nothing about books. They have their place in the environment and I am sure that as soon as the desire for the kind of knowledge they provide asserts itself the books will be used.

We have no desire to mould either of the children into any form whatsoever. We are not much concerned as to whether they turn out "radical" or "conservative." All we are able to do is to provide as wide and free an environment as possible and hinder as little as possible their growth thru varied experiences. That's our job as we see it now and if we can carry it thru we're not afraid of the results. Perhaps some may say we ought to have a "definite aim" in view but the one aim we could have would be to let our children grow up as free individuals, and to be guilty of a paradox, we believe that purpose can best be served by having no aim at all.

THE NEW SAVIOUR FOR CAPITALISM—FASCISM!

Mr. Oswald Garrison Willard announces in the "NATION" his readiness to kneel in prayer of thanks for the "new deal" program. Benito Mussolini utters his benediction upon the same "new deal"—as a triumph for his fascist ideas. Guido Jung, Italian finance minister, proclaims his conviction after confabing with the saviour himself, Mr. Roosevelt, and listening at the latter's "appeal" to the U. S. Chamber of Capitalism (Commerce) that the Duce is correct. As to allay any fears that some remote capitalists may still have about the new Fascist Deal of Roosevelt, the San Francisco "CHRONICLE," organ of the Pacific Coast capitalists, brings forth on Aug. 1, 1933 a cablegram from its Berlin correspondent, E. A. Mawrer, wherein it is admitted that:

> "Now that the 'dirty work' has been done, the Nazi leaders are definitely discarding the anti-capitalistic phraseology with which they have won the majority of the people and are emerging as friends of German capitalism and big business. . . . Nazi Germany now emerges from the dust of the revolution as the protector of capitalism."

That Mr. Roosevelt is now busily engaged in doing the very same "dirty work" as Mussolini and Hitler have done for the purpose of safeguarding the capitalist reign of plunder and rulership in this country, the critical minded can already see very well. Even the war minister, Mr. Dern, openly admitted this before the recent conference of State governors at Sacramento, California.

*

The fascist followers of Mussolini and Hitler are no longer a myth in America. Founded in Philadelphia by as petty and dishonest a creature as the Duce himself, Mr. Art J. Smith, they are being accredited with a membership numbering more than seven thousand. They have designed their own fascist uniforms and are openly training in the use of all kinds of firearms, and not molested in the least by any branch of the Government.

If the workers would have attempted a similar defense maneuver in order to gain more bread and liberty—the watch dog of the exploiters would of course have immediately stepped in and crushed the movement at its inception. But fascism is the newest device ally for capitalism and its governments. They are therefore immune from persecution.

Fascism in America is making far more rapid strides than few of us realize. Out in Mississippi, the fascist harbingers of death to the workers, have already to their "credit" the lives of seven negro workers, the wounding of seven more and one flogged. This was achieved by inciting the unemployed white workers against the employed negroes on the Illinois Central. In New York the Khaki Fascists of America staged an open rally on July 14th at Columbia Hall, Astoria. Naturally, the Fascists came well armed. Dissenting voices were drowned by revolver shots from the fascist assassins. One boy, Anthony Fierro, a university student, was murdered, and 24 wounded. Fierro was a known anti-fascist, as were most of those hurt. Two arrests were made, but only one—Athos Terzani—an anti-Fascist, is being held. The identified murderer of Fierro was released—at the behest of the Fascist leader Mr. Smith. * Thus can be seen how close are the bounds between the fascists and the government.

*

The recent visit by a squadron of Italian Fascist flyers was the heralding of the coming world war and an open display of the alliance between two fascist Governments—Italy and America. In greeting General Italo Balbo, Mr. Roosevelt, and the American Government extended its fraternization with a creature and regime that is responsible for the deliberate murdering, torturing and jailing of thousands upon thousands of liberty loving men and women of Italy!

Likewise, never before has the daily press of America proven itself more bereft of decency, honesty and truthfulness than it has by its artificial ballyhoo it created for the infamous assassin bandit representative of Italian Fascism—Italo Balbo. Thus, the prostituted pen harlots have proven how ready they are to serve a Fascist America in behalf of Capitalism. If the daily kept press would be a disseminator of truth instead of lies, the people of America might have taken pains to come out in greeting the monstrous Balbo with stones instead of cheers.

*

The Willards of the "Nation" stock liberals can bow on their knees before the official introducer of American Fascism, via the New Deal—Mr. F. D. Roosevelt. The Socialists, Communists, Labor Politicians and Barter Schemers can worry how to devise new "thunder"—which the Fascist Roosevelt has stolen from them—and with which new devices they hope to continue in delaying the Day of Real Liberation. But let not the independent thinking mind allow ones self to be deceived by all such attempts.

Fascism has dawned upon thy country. It may as yet be fought to death. It cannot be fought back with mere empty platitudes. The time has come to fight the monster with the same weapons it is attempting to ravage itself to triumph.

*

Humanity suffers amidst an abundance of natural wealth This wealth has been stolen by thieves called "honorable citizens." This thievery is being protected by the Government. As long as there will remain capitalists to exploit, governments to coerce, and politicians to fool—the human race will remain enslaved. Only when Humanity realizes that it has a natural right to what it has created, does and will create, only then will it rise to discard and overthrow the institution of Capitalism, Government, as well as all aspiring political parties that aim at taking the places of Capitalism and Government.

The Dawn of the Day of Liberation looms brighter and brighter despite of all reactionary forces of the world, via Fascism, stretching forth their beastly claws, schemes and plans of devastation, destruction and enslavement. The momentary victories of Wrong and Injustice, Oppression and Slavery—the basic props of Fascism—signify only the Beginning of its End.

The valiant fighters for genuine social and political liberty cannot nor will we ever be disheartened. For ours is the Day of Tomorrow—the Triumphant Day of Liberation for the whole Human Race.

* The Anarchist Groups of New York City have issued an appeal to all our comrades for moral and financial support in the defence of Tarzani. The appeal calls upon individuals and groups to forward contributions through the Anarchist press that is being issued in the various languages of this country.

Consistency and the United Front

Editor MAN!—:

I would like to call your attention to the newly organized United Brotherhood of Labor, a political-industrial-social movement which hopes to unite the radicals of America in one strong group which can function effectively against capitalism. We feel that our greatest need just at present is in union, that we have the strength to destroy the abuses of the present system if only all the forward looking and courageous men and women of the country would join together. As it is, each little radical group expends its energy in fighting other groups. Let us turn our teeth upon the common enemy, and our petty differences among ourselves must disappear! *Janet Newton.*

*

Editor MAN!—:

We know that we stand today at a tragic turning in human history. Violence and even war are spreading. While the economic situation and especially the despair of the unemployed have offered a fertile soil for the international spread of Fascism, the dread of Bolshevism has been cleverly exploited to make Fascism appear as the saviour of society and this helps on the international spread of Fascism. Countries which are still free from it, are daily threatened with it. Fascism is more and more considered a despairing effort of Capitalism to postpone its fall.

But for the failure of the forces of democracy and peace and the division among the working masses Fascism would never have been able to seize power and to destroy so rapidly the results of long years of persevering efforts.

Learning from this example, those countries who are still safe and where human life is still respected would be terribly to blame if they made or permitted the same mistake.

The masses, in general, unorganized as well as organized, feel an urgent need for union.

Political parties of the left appear to realize this since they are launching appeals for unity from every side. Old struggles have left bitterness and sensitiveness. But what do these matter in the face of the terrible danger? Can they excuse the continuation of an attitude which inevitably will lead to our extermination?

We women, the greater part of whom are outside all political parties, and consequently not obliged to take the orders of any of them, can understand these events independently, with our simple common sense, and our sense of what is human.

We are certain that a single chance of safety is left.

We must unite, or accept war or fascism. There is not a moment to lose. The evolution of events is hurrying on. Are they going to overtake us?

We appeal to those responsible in the large organizations, political, labour, peace, social, cultural, national and international, to workers and intellectuals, to all men and women of good will, organized and unorganized; we ask them to sink their differences and unite their efforts for a great struggle against Fascism, for Peace and Freedom.

Women's International League
For Peace and Freedom, Geneva, Switzerland

*

The above two communications addressed to MAN! happen to come from sources that are both incomparable to the questionable shoutings for a United Front evinced by the Communists and Socialists. If the efforts of either have so far proven a failure, it is due to their being such good disciples of Karl Marx. The reformist socialists needn't put up such an innocent front to the communists: "Don't call us all kinds of names and then ask us to sit down with you at one table." For, hasn't the Socialist movement always assumed that same attitude of slander toward the Anarchist movement just as the Communist does now toward the Socialist, as well as toward the Anarchist movement? It won't be long now before the Socialist brethren will once again fraternize in one International with the Communists—and once united—their hymns of hatred and denunciation of the Anarchist movement will again echo forth—as in the days of Marx, when the latter conducted his unscrupulous campaign of vilification against Bakunin and the Anarchist movement. Therefore, in so far as the cries of a United Front are being shouted nowadays by the Communist and Socialist movements—the Anarchist cannot take them seriously.

The two communications printed above are, however, of an entirely different nature. It is true indeed that Fascism, the blackest spectre of reaction, is raising its head everywhere. It is triumphing in country after country. But, it should equally be realized that fascism has been alive and triumphant everywhere for scores and scores of years, sailing only under different mast-heads. At one time it was the ruthless reign of a Czar, a Kaiser, or a King. At another time it emerged as a liberal or democratic republic. In our own time it reveals itself as a sinister reactionary movement on one hand as in Italy and Germany, and on the other hand as a revolutionary movement in Russia, a Socialist one in Great Britain, a Democratic one in America, and so on.

Not to be outdone by the Communists, the Socialists are now engaged in an attempt to capitalize the present economic breakdown of capitalism behind the high sounding shield of a Continental Congress of Farmers and Workers. The few hours I spent at the recent state conference of the same body at Sacramento left no doubt in one's mind as to this. Whosoever was suspected of the least kind of social beliefs that differed from the Socialist ones was not allowed to participate. The Farmers and Workers can now rest assured that they will be saved—for the benefit of Socialist politicians, that is, if they allow themselves to be entrapped by them.

The same thoughts apply towards "The Struggle Against War" movement now being sponsored by the pro-Communist literary people of America and Europe.

The Bolshevik Government spends more than 579 million dollars a year on war preparations. On August 8, 1932, representatives of the Russian Government signed a contract at Paris to supply two million tons of oil for the French Navy. On September 24, 1932, an agreement was signed by the Russian Government to supply 60,000 tons of petroleum oil for the Japanese Navy, to be used in the war upon China, although the Bolsheviks profess great "love" (?) for the Chinese people. The Fascist Government of Italy also gets oil from the Bolshevik Government. Furthermore, the Bolshevik Government maintains commercial and political relationship with practically every existent capitalist Government of the world.

Furthermore, even **Leon Trotzky** is forced to admit today that the Social Democracy and The Communist International are both responsible for the rise of Fascism.

In the face of all these staring facts—how can such people as a Roman Rolland, Henry Barbusse or Theodore Dreiser expect any critical minded person to support an Anti-War movement (and such a movement is badly needed at this time) which they allow to be capitalized by a Bolshevik Government that deals, just as every other capitalist government does, in the manufacture and barter of ammunition and war implements? An Anti-War Movement or Anti-Fascist Movement can be supported by sincere people only when either of these have as their basis, consistency of policies, as well as of membership.

None of the United front movements that have so far come to birth have as yet proven that they have a real understanding of Fascism, War and Government. Neither have any of these movements shown any kind of recognition for the equal right of experimentation by all idealogical groupings in the event of a triumphant overthrow of Fascism, anywhere. They could not do this for the very reason that the Liberal and Socialist leader as well as the Communist and Radical Leader within all these United Front movements is only awaiting the first opportunity to grasp the reigns of Rulership relinquished by the one that will be overthrown. And this is one of the reasons why the Anarchist cannot have anything to do with all these so-called United Front maneuvers of politicians.

Once it is realized that Fascism is in reality but an unveiled creature of the hidden monster, Rulership, that has been devouring mankind ever since the rule and exploitation of man by man began—then the approach toward the Destruction of Fascism will have to take on a far different aspect, and naturally draw around itself a totally different element than that which gathers today around even such sincere efforts as the movements espoused by the two communications may represent

The Anarchist has always given battle to Rulership and Exploitation of every sort and description. This includes as much the regime of a Mussolini, or a Hitler, as that of Stalin, MacDonald or Roosevelt. If any one has always had, and always will maintain, a United Front against every prevailing form of rulership and exploitation, it is the Anarchist. To our ranks every one is invited and welcomed. On the day following victory—no one need fear that the Anarchist will be the enemy of any kind of groupings of people and experimentations of Social and Political Ideals. For, the basis of the Anarchist ideal is Freedom—freedom to think, experiment, create, live and enjoy according to the dictates and wishes of one's mind and will. How many of the movements, if any, that espouse the cry for a United Front among the oppressed of the world have Freedom and the right of experimentation as their basic idealogical tenet? None. Then why should the Anarchist have anything to do with United Front movements sponsored by such groups?

One of the communications speaks of saving those countries where "human life is still respected." I do not know of a single country on earth where rulership and exploitation prevail to which such an assertion could truthfully be applied.

Marcus Graham

MAN!

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Editor, MARCUS GRAHAM

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Schemes [2]

"During the War, the social democracy functioned as a direct instrument of imperialism. After the War it hired itself out officially as the family doctor of Capitalism . . . The Communist International was even prepared . . . to refrain from criticism of the social democracy during the whole period of the joint struggle (against fascism) . . . The masses wanted to fight, but they were obstinately prevented from doing so by the leaders."

—Leon Trotzky in **"The New Republic"**

What comment can an Anarchist add to this obituary notice upon the right and left factions of Marxian-socialism by one of its own leading adherents? . . .

IDEAS of ANARCHISM: The Ego and His Own

Max Stirner

The Fixed Idea

What is it, then, that is called a "fixed idea"? An idea that has subjected the man to itself. When you recognize, with regard to such a fixed idea, that it is a folly, you shut its slave up in an asylum. And is the truth of the faith, say, which we are not to doubt; the majesty of (e.g.) the people, which we are not to strike at (he who does is guilty of—lese-majesty); virtue, against which the censor is not to let a word pass, that morality may be kept pure, etc.,—are these not "fixed ideas"? Is not all the stupid chatter of (e.g.) most of our newspapers the babble of fools who suffer from the fixed idea of morality, legality, Christianity, etc., and only seem to go about free because the madhouse in which they walk takes in so broad a space? Touch the fixed idea of such a fool, and you will at once have to guard your back against the lunatic's stealthy malice. For these great lunatics are like the little so-called lunatics in this point, too,—that they assail by stealth him who touches their fixed idea. They first steal his weapon, steal free speech from him, and then they fall upon him with their nails. Every day now lays bare the cowardice and vindictiveness of these maniacs, and the stupid populace hurrahs for their crazy measures. One must read the journals of this period, and must hear the Philistines talk, to get the horrible conviction that one is shut up in a house with fools.

The Proletariat

"Money governs the world" is the keynote of the civic epoch. A destitute aristocrat and a destitute laborer, as "starvelings," amount to nothing so far as political consideration is concerned; birth and labor do not do it, but **money brings consideration.** The possessors rule, but the State trains up from the destitute its "servants," to whom, in porportion as they are to rule (govern) in its name, it gives money (a salary).

I receive everything from the State. Have I anything without the **State's assent?** What I have without this it **takes** from me as soon as it discovers the lack of a "legal title." Do I not, therefore, have everything through its grace, its assent?

On this alone, on the **legal title,** the commonalty rests. The commoner is what he is through the **protection of the State,** through the State's grace. He would necessarily be afraid of losing everyting if the State's power were broken.

But how is it with him who has nothing to lose, how with the proletarian? As he has nothing to lose, he does not need the protection of the State for his "nothing." He may gain, on the contrary, if that protection of the State is withdrawn from the **protege.**

Therefore the non-possessor will regard the State as a power protecting the possessor, which privileges the latter, but does nothing for him, the non-possessor, but to—suck his blood. The State is a—**Commoner's State,** is the estate of the commonalty. It protects man not according to his labor, but according to his tractableness ("loyalty"),—to wit, according to whether the rights entrusted to him by the State are enjoyed and managed in accordance with the will, **i.e.** laws, of the State.

Under the **regime** of the commonalty the laborers always fall into the hands of the possessors,—**i.e.** of those who have at their disposal some bit of the State domains (and everything possessible is State domain, belongs to the State, and is only a fief of the individual), especially money and land; of the capitalists, therefore. The laborer cannot **realize** on his labor to the extent of the value that it has for the consumer. "Labor is badly paid!" The capitalist has the greatest profit from it. Well paid, and more than well paid, are only the labors of those who heighten the splendor and **dominion** of the State, the labors of high State **servants.** The State pays well that its "good citizens," the possessors, may be able to pay badly without danger; it secures to itself by good payment its servants, out of whom it forms a protecting power, a "police" (to the police belong soldiers, officials of all kinds, **e.g.** those of justice, education, etc.,—in short, the whole "machinery of the State") for the "good citizens," and the "good citizens" gladly pay high tax-rates to it in order to pay so much lower rates to their laborers.

But the class of laborers, because unprotected in what they essentially are (for they do not enjoy the protection of the State as laborers, but as its subjects they have a share in the enjoyment of the police, a so-called protection of the law), remains a power hostile to this State, this State of possessors, this "citizen kingship." Its principle, labor, is not recognized as to its **value;** it is exploited, a **spoil** of the possessors, the enemy.

The laborers have the most enormous power in their hands, and, if they once became thoroughly conscious of it and used it, nothing would withstand them; they would only have to stop labor, regard the product of labor as theirs, and enjoy it. This is the sense of the labor disturbances which show themselves here and there.

The State rests on the—**slavery of labor.** If **labor** becomes **free,** the State is lost.

Ruler and Rulership

The Revolution was not directed against **the established,** but against **the establishment** in question, against a **particular** establishment. It did away with **this** ruler, not with **the** ruler—on the contrary, the French were ruled most inexorably; it killed the old vicious ruler, but wanted to confer on the virtuous ones a securely established position, i.e. it simply set virtue in the place of vice. (Vice and virtue, again, are on their part distinguished from each other only as a wild young fellow from a Philistine.), etc.

To this day the revolutionary principle has gone no farther than to assail only **one** or **another** particular establishment, i.e. be **reformatory.** Much as may be **improved,** strongly as "discreet progress" may be adhered to, always there **is only a new master** set in the old one's place, and the overturning is a building up. We are still at the distinction of the young Philistine from the old one. The Revolution began in **bourgeois** fashion with the uprising of the third estate, the middle class; in **bourgeois** fashion it dries away. It was not the **individual man**—and he alone is **Man**—that

Johann Kasper Schmidt (Max Stirner)
(1806-1856)
From a Drawing by Frederich Engels by Angelo.

became free, but the **citizen,** the **citoyen,** the **political** man, who for that very reason is not **Man** but a specimen of the human species, and more particularly a specimen of the species Citizen, a **free citizen.**

Liberation Through The Union of Egoists

Neither a natural ligature nor a spiritual one holds the union together, and it is not a natural, not a spiritual league. It is not brought about by one **blood,** not by one **faith** (spirit). In a natural league—like a family, a tribe, a nation, yes, mankind—the individuals have only the value of **specimens** of the same species or genus; in a spiritual league—like a commune, a church—the individual signifies only a **member** of the same spirit; what you are in both cases must be—suppressed. Only in the union can you assert yourself as unique, because the union does not possess you, but you possess it or make it of use to you.

Property is recognized in the union, and only in the union, because one no longer holds what is his as a fief from any being. The Communists are only consistently carrying further what had already been long during religious evolution, and especially in the State; to wit, propertylessness, **i.e.** the feudal system.

You bring into a union your whole power, your competence, and **make yourself count;** in a society you are **employed,** with your working power; in the former you live egoistically, in the latter humanly, **i.e.** religiously, as a "member of the body of his Lord"; to a society you owe what you have, and are in duty bound to it, are—possessed by "social duties"; a union you utilize, and give it up undutifully and unfaithfully when you see no way to use it further. If a society is more than you, then it is more to you than yourself; a union is only your instrument, or the sword with which you sharpen and increase your natural force; the union exists for you and through you, the society conversely lays claim to you for itself and exists even without you; in short, the society is **sacred,** the union your **own;** the society consumes **you, you** consume the union.

Owner of Myself

History seeks for Man: but he is I, you, we. Sought as a mysterious **essence,** as the divine, first as **God** then as **Man** (humanity, humaneness, and mankind), he is found as the individual, the finite, the unique one.

I am owner of humanity, am humanity, and do nothing for the good of another humanity. Fool, you who are a unique humanity, that you make a merit of wanting to live for another than you are.

I am **owner** of my might, and I am so when I know myself as **unique.** In the **unique one** the owner himself returns into his creative nothing, out of which he is born. Every higher essence above me, be it God, be it man, weakens the feeling of my uniqueness, and pales only before the sun of this consciousness. If I concern myself for myself, the unique one, then my concern rests on its transitory, mortal creator, who consumes himself, and I may say:

All things are nothing to me. (In the original German text: **Ich hab' Mein' Sach' auf Nichts gestellt.**)

John Henry Mackay

It is a most tragic co-incident indeed. For some reason or other the "Ideas of Anarchism"-series has been crowded out from the last three issues of MAN! And now when its continuation is being resumed, the same issue will have to make known the death of **John Henry Mackay!** If the ideas of **Stirner** are known at all today, it is chiefly due to the valiant and unceasing efforts of **Mackay.** Years after it was actually forgotten **Mackay** came upon a reference to **"The Ego and His Own."** After he became acquainted with it, his mission and inspiration of Life and Work was the expounding of **Stirner's** ideas. He induced a publisher to re-issue the book and it began circulating in the thousands. Not satisfied with this alone, he unearthed a wealth of material which he subsequently published in the only existing biography of **Max Stirner.**

Mackay, himself, was a novelist and poet. Born on February 6, 1864, at Greencock, near Glasgow, he nevertheless lived most of his life in Germany. **Mackay** visited the United States during the World Fair at Chicago. Our veteran comrade of San Francisco, Phillip Walters, relates an interesting story about this: **Mackay** didn't stay long in New York upon his arrival—but went straight ahead to Chicago. He returned within a few days disgusted. Someone relieved him of his entire baggage the very first night he was in Chicago . . . He took the first boat back to Germany after bidding the comrades farewell at Schwab's famous saloon in New York.

Mackay also visited Italy, Switzerland, England and France, residing in some of these countries for some time. His most renowned work, translated into many languages, is **"The Anarchists,"** an auto-biographical novel expounding all the schools of Anarchist thought. Other works of his are: **"The Truthseekers,"** a novel; **"The Sybarit,"** a novel; **"Amidst the Aims,"** a volume of short stories; **"Marriage,"** a one-act scene; **"Storm,"** a volume of social and libertarian poems; **"Max Stirner:** (aside from the biography already spoken of) **The Untrue Principle of Our Education and Art and Religion."** His last work was **"Abrechnung"**—The Accounting. Seemingly, **Mackay** felt the approach of the end, as this valedictory work shows.

Only in the early part of this year a communication reached "MAN!" (see February issue) from Germany telling of the formation of a **Mackay Society** for the circulating of his works. One also learns from a note by **E. Armand** that Mackay had sold his entire unique Library and manuscripts of his own to the **Marx Engels Institute** of Russia. This is most unfortunate, since the Bolsheviks, unscrupulous as they are known to be, will not stop at destroying, mutilating, suppressing or distorting any documents or views that may not be to their liking. He died on May 16, 1933, at Berlin, Germany. What pangs of agony he must have undergone upon witnessing what the "shining example" of Marxism-socialism, the Socialists of Germany, had been doing ever since the year 1914!

In the death of **John Henry Mackay,** the Libertarian world has lost an unflinching champion. His works remain, tho, as a monument and an inspiration for each and all to carry on the struggle for Freedom.

M. G.

A new era will come about, totally different from that which was and is. It will come about slowly, but as certain as dead sets in upon the sick and life upon the healthy one. It will take the place now occupied by authority and all its off-spring customs, as: Nationalism, Patriotism, State, Laws, Duty and Right, etc., and out of the reasoning and the memory of Man it will strike out all these and replace them by: World-citizenship, Independence of All, Self-honesty and Self-help. And a new word will come into use, whose blessing none of us know as yet, and still less imagine it! Freedom! For the eternal-singular begins to triumph over all the achievements. I do not know when it will triumph, but I do know that it will triumph, out of the conviction and basis of an ideological social belief that has only one aim: to be natural and reasonable.

JOHN HENRY MACKAY.

Prelude to Thunder

Because,
Being young, and like a corn-stalk, astretch
After ultimate winds that slide along the sky,
Because,
Being thirsty, and like a pine-tree, astretch
After the succulent brown marrow of the ground,
Because,
Young and thirsty, eager for height and depth,
I clutch in vain for the winds that tunnel through the azure
quietetude of space,
And the luscious juice of earth bathes other thirsty roots, and
not my own,
Therefore,
I am angry, and shake my fists like knotty boughs to the sky
And stamp upon the ground, shouting:
Wherefore denial, wherefore thirst and the muscular
Stretch in vain? I stamp upon the ground, shouting,
Wherefore?

And, while the big clouds glowing with fleece-white of the day
Plunge in blue ellipse over the houses and trees narrowing into
the far diamond-white of day,
I hear,
(Like the throbbing of kettle-drums answering the tap of a
pebble on stone)
A murmur that accelerates from successive horizons of sight
Up to zenith, pondering—
Wherefore?
Like an angry chorus of pine-boughs vibrating a thick bass in
the wind, like
The full voice of dry corn-acres whipping beyond sight with
the wind,
The answering inarticulate murmur sweeps
Slowly into a shout full as a thunder-cloud reaching ominous
pinnacle above pinnacle above
Pinnacle into the zenith that crashes—
WHEREFORE?

The sky is pregnant with lightning;
The earth is gorged with anger. Crash,
O voice of the earth, and bray
Proud marble low with the dust,
Flatten the obscene towers and crush
Tyrants low with the clay. The sky
Is stretched
Wide with excess of wrath. Plunge
But a lightning-rod up against the blue bubble, and—
Prolong but a shout of protest like a stiff rod against the bubble,
and—
CRASH!

Jacob Hauser.

THE PARAMOUNT ISSUE IN THE REVOLUTION OF SPAIN

Onofre Dallas

When the uprising of January 8 took place, there appeared an editorial in "C. N. T." (which apparently is the one—I have now found out through "El Luchador"—that Bertoni calls the Bulletin of the C. N. T.) stating "that is not our revolution," etc. That article was written, mind you, not by a syndicalist but by an anarchist, a member of the Iberian Anarchist Federation. Next day, and on subsequent days, there appeared throughout all the press of the C. N. T. articles, editorials, manifestoes and proclamations by national, regional and local committees of the C. N. T., endorsing, supporting, and defending the movement, and this they have been doing ever since. I don't know whether the C. N. T. has formally disavowed the above editorial, but it has beyond any doubt done so actually and by facts and actions.

Editorial Comment

The paramount issue involved is not as comrade O. Dallas thinks: whether it was an Anarchist or an Anarcho-Syndicalist who wrote the editorial in the leading organ of the Syndicalist movement of Spain wherein it was said:

> "That is not our revolution. That is simply a trap set for the workers. The whole affair has been put up by the government itself—"

Neither can the issue be sidetracked by the fact that "articles, editorials, manifestoes and proclamations" of the C. N. T. were afterwards issued defending the masses' uprising of January 8, 1933.

The principal ideological foundation of Syndicalism—that and that only is the paramount issue which brought about the action of deceit by the leading organ of Syndicalism in the most critical period of the people's struggle for Social Liberation. Furthermore, the fact that the same organ is still unwilling to retract that particular editorial cannot surprise the critical Anarchist, because the retraction of that stand of deceit, would be tantamount to an admission of its bankruptcy.

It is indeed a credit to such people in our movement as Federico Urales, Max Nettlau and Federica Montseny, whose views appear on this page, that they have proven themselves capable of giving a true appraisal of the paramount issue involved in the most critical period of the Revolution in Spain—from a consistent Anarchist point of view.

The still more critical test of the Syndicalist ideology is yet to come. The claim of over a million membership will prove of little avail. For, as comrades Urales, Nettlau and Montseny point out so explicitly and clearly, the entire activity of the Syndicalist movement in Spain has already proven beyond the shadow of any doubt that the whole basic foundation of the Syndicalist ideology is an authoritarian one, and therefore anti-Libertarian, non-Anarchistic.

It would certainly be one of the greatest calamities if the arisen rebellious people of Spain should forfeit their struggle for Social and Political Liberation upon the altar of authoritarian Syndicalism, as the people of Russia forfeited theirs upon the altar of Bolshevism. The sooner the many well meaning people who have been attracted by the attachment of the word Anarchist to the one of Syndicalist realize the full significance of the conclusions reached by comrades Urales, Nettlau and Montseny—that much sooner will the path of the rebellious people in Spain be more assuredly safeguarded from the catastrophe of forfeiting the aims of the Revolution, viz: Land for all and the Liberty for everyone to live his own life according to his own desires and to the best of his abilities.

Federico Urales

We differ somewhat from some of the theoreticians of Anarchism in that we don't see the problems of society from the mechanical, economic and industrial standpoint of production. We look upon them from the standpoint of health and of nature, a door that is ever open for unending social modification. For us production and exchange is not everything. The essential thing for us, according to the modern sociological orientation, is life and health, under which we subordinate the social and scientific values. That industry or science, which doesn't serve as a contribution to the well being of the individual, must go. Very often they are only the result of false civilization and false interests. For us, therefore, production needs to be subordinated to the well being of the individual and not vice versa. Whether production as a whole will be larger or smaller by the application of this or another system, isn't to us of as much importance, as that it should be conducive to health.

For an immediate present we all agree in this: land and liberty, bread and freedom, community and individuality; all shall labor as they are able to, eat as they need to eat; let the life of every human being be assured; let no one be the over-lord of another; let all obtain the same education and equal rights; let every man's abilities and intelligence be decided by his natural traits without the interference of a falsified culture.

"El Luchador" of April 28, 1933

Max Nettlau

Some very fine people live amidst the spell of the Anarcho-Syndicalist or the "pure Syndicalist" ideology, which makes them believe in a future society that will be composed of a complicated machinery of syndicates, a permanent clock-mechanism, where every man will be a minute part of one of the many syndicalist wheels. It is this "Syndicalist State," as we are used to calling it now, which is a system that we consider as an abstract construction and which would in practice be possible to realize only through violence and through control over everyone; that means through authoritarian methods. This is a sheer impossibility and is only being tried out by the creators of backward-utopias, the Bolsheviks and the Fascists, whereas modern humanity has been striving for the last 150 years to destroy the obstacles to a free life. Humanity still strives even now, notwithstanding the waves of brutal authoritarianism, a result of the back-force, that has been set up by the detractors of Socialism, those who have degraded Socialism, and who have sunk into State-Socialism, State-Bolshevism, State-Fascism.

"Freie Arbeiter Stimme" of June 30, 1933

Federica Montseny

The same ideal of Fascism, the ideal of unity and uniformity, of mass-subordination to common, daily issues, is the industrial ideal of North America, the Bolshevist ideal of Russia, the Republican and Socialist ideal of Spain itself. It is even the ideal of not a few pseudo-Anarchists here in the country. (Spain) . . . What difference is there in reality between Marxism as it is being materialized in Russia, the Fascism of the Marxian renegade Mussolini, the mass-theory of the Hitlerian National-Socialism, the unilateral and disciplined conception of "pure Syndicalism," and that mass-Anarchism which is in conflict with the individual, libertarian, anti-authoritarian and anti-dogmatic conception of the eternal Anarchism which is the instinct of people who wish to be free, and who struggle for their own unsurrenderible and complete freedom?

War against the Fascisms—against all Fascisms and all material and moral manifestations of Fascism—be they made through force or insinuation; Man must be free from without and from within; a right, full, whole and undivided being; a point in space; his own beginning and end, as individual and as humanity, considered individually and collectively.

Only in such a manner will Freedom cease to be but an empty word. Only thus, in Anarchy—the highest formula of Freedom— will it become a reality which will manifest itself in every human being.

"Revista Blanca"

* * * *

Only life creates . . . Science does not create, but only states, describes, the creation of life . . . Science is the sacrifice on the altar of abstraction.—Michael Bakunin.

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Out Into the Open

The Progressive Miners

A resolution and statement has reached "MAN!" from Local Union No. 1 of the Progressive Miners of America, which claims to be the largest local, with a membership of 2500. The following excerpts are being taken from both communications:

> In the midst of this terrific struggle, at a time when we must maintain the solidarity within our ranks, the Executive Board of the P. M. of A. have yielded to the pressure of our enemies and discharged **Gerry Allard** as editor of the **"Progressive Miner"** because he objected to the Board's censorship of the rank and file opinion in the columns of our paper. **Allard's** job was offered to another man, **Loren Norman,** who has worked with **Allard** as Associate Editor and who considered himself too much of a union man to take another man's job; even the stenographer, **Cynthia Aghetta,** with a widowed mother to support, gave up her job rather than be a party to the violation of the principles of unionism, thereby proving true to her training in the women's Auxiliary.
>
> For fifteen months our people have struggled and fought and bled and died, in the belief that they were founding a real union of the rank and file, and not another Lewis dictatorship, a union that would guarantee freedom of opinion and the expression of that opinion on the floor of local unions, at mass meetings and in the columns of their own paper.
>
> President **Pearcy** and Secretary **Keck** appeared at the meeting (of local 1) to explain their actions. **Allard** presented his case in person, claiming that the officials had no substantial reasons for removing him. After a hectic 5-hour debate the local union voted overwhelmingly to support **Allard.** A statement previously issued by the officials stated that they were confident the membership of the organization would accept the executive board's decision on the matter.

The statement issued in the **"Progressive Miner"** of June 30th is an affront to any intelligent person. It is really an admission that a new machine has already established itself upon the backs of the militant Illinois miners. The scab-editorial **"Principles Versus Personalities"** in the same issue is nothing less than the sheerest kind of demagogy. The following excerpt from the latter, reads:

> "The choice must be made between experiment and experience, between arbitrary decisions and fundamental principles; or briefly between political anarchy and constitutional government."

The scab editor must have graduated from an American Fakeration of Labor editorial room, for he proves himself fit to act as a lackey to any machine that would pay him cash for his services.

If the Progressive Miners are going to continue functioning as a militant workers' organization they must rid themselves at once of the new leeches that are now attempting to devour and destroy them. The sooner they do this the better for their own well being socially as well as spiritually.

Why Does Ray Becker Remain Imprisoned?

Three of the remaining Centralia victims have been released on parole. It is of course a compromise, but none of us on the outside have any moral right to berate the act. We haven't done what could have brought about an earlier and more befitting release to these valiant fighters for liberty who have suffered incarceration for more than a score of years.

One prisoner among the Centralia victims—**Ray Becker**—still remains imprisoned, with no prospect of any immediate release. He refuses to accept parole, since it would be an indirect admittance of guilt. **Becker** has been fighting a lone battle in attempting to expose the frame-up against the Centralia victims, including himself.

In a letter to the editor of MAN!, dated March 20th, **Becker** stated:

> "After the **jury** brought in a second degree verdict against seven of the prisoners, and while the case was pending appeal, neither **George F. Vanderveer** nor **E. S. Smith** made a motion to have the prisoners admitted to bail, although these prisoners were not sentenced to imprisonment for life . . . While we prisoners were yet in jail at **Montesano,** shortly before we were taken to **Walla Walla, Elmer Smith** told us that we should not have to stay in **Walla Walla** a year. But hardly were we locked up in **Walla Walla** before he and shady characters in the officialdom of the **I. W. W.** spread the propaganda that we should have to serve at least five years. Later they lengthened the term of imprisonment by telling their dupes that nothing could be done before ten **years** were served . . . In a speech **E. S. Smith** made in **Centralia** on March 31, 1929, he said: "Why is it that the lynchers of **Wesley Everest** have never been prosecuted, while they who protected themselves against a similar lynching have been railroaded to **Walla Walla?** Do you know who the lynchers are? I do. A number of them walk the streets of **Centralia** as respectable citizens.". . . I have asked the so-called **Centralia Publicity Committee,** which was **E. S. Smith** and **C. S. Smith,** and have also asked secretaries of the so-called **General Defense Committee** to provide me with affidavits giving the proofs of the identity of the murderers of **Wesley Everest.** But I could not get even a certified copy of such affidavits . . . After **Fred Coffre** published that **Dr. David Livingston** castrated Wesley Everest, Coffre was lured into general headquarters in **Chicago** by the so-called **General Defense Committee,** turned over to the police, mind you, and extradited to **Seattle** on a charge of burglarizing a safe in the **Collins** building. When he got back to **Seattle, Coffre** proved his innocence so easily and so clearly that even a capitalist court would not convict him, in spite of everything that was done by a secret committee of **I. W. W.'s** to make him join the frame-up victims already railroaded to **Walla Walla** . . . The dole sent to the prisoners by the beforementioned committee are blood money, and I have these many years refused to accept such money and have plainly told them that they are not authorized to act as my representative. But these facts have been kept covered up by them and they continue to pose as my representatives . . . I could continue to relate to you at great length the treacheries that have been perpetrated while days have become weeks—weeks have grown into months—months have lengthened into years—and year after year is rolling on into eternity. It is not the chains that are hard to bear, but the anchors of the treachery of traitors and the locks of truth-stifling labor skates and editors are what causes me sometimes to hurl the cynic's ban. All about me I see the tragedy of ruined youth and shattered faith—and I wonder if this is the best that you who are outside can grant. Even worse than the tragedy of false imprisonment is the tragedy of broken faith."

The **I. W. W.** owes it to itself to come forward to explain and defend itself from the very grave charges that are being made here by **Ray Becker.** His uncompromising stand in refusing to accept a parole certainly adds yet more significance to his charges. In the meantime, the revolutionary movement ought not to forget the fact that an uncompromising rebel victim of the **Centralia-Tragedy-Frame-Up** still remains imprisoned.

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ART and LITERATURE

Humanitarian Principles

(English version by O. Dallas)

Eugen Relgis

"I am a man!"—that will be our answer, according to our own consciousness, to all those who will ask us regarding the nationality, religion or State to which we belong. And this answer means: "I know that I am the product of the biologic evolution, that in me lives the monkey, the reptile, the plant and the mineral; I know that within me I must develop my humanity, aggrandized through the efforts of past generations; that I must preserve the heritage of culture and civilization and perfect them as much as it is within my power, because I foresee the future by beholding the past, and it is by humanizing myself that I will build for my descendants a new step on the ladder of progress.

II.

Two notions that are two realities, form the basis of my humanity, and they are: the **individual** and the **Species**, the cell and the organism. Liberty may always be harmonized with necessity; my will power as an individual finds a field for creative action in the framework of the species. By recognizing the natural fatalities we shall become masters. As regards the social fatalities, they do not exist except for those who have neither individual consciousness nor the consciousness of the species.

Between the simple unity of man and the supreme unit of humanity there is no other intermediary natural unit, but only social and political forms: the family, the tribe, the class, the nation, the State and the race . . . They are artificial and transitory forms: we do not recognize them in an absolute manner. Let us free ourselves from their tyranny if they come to paralyze our personality and if they do not correspond with the tendencies towards the progress of Humanity.

III.

The **belief in progress** is the sap of my humanity. This is not a mystic belief or simply idealistic. The ideal is born of realities and not of dreams. The breath of the life of Nature, made conscious by man, finds expression more and more perfect each time, in spite of all cosmic catastrophes and all the disasters caused by war. The principle of all material and spiritual progress lies in the progress of the mind; a superior idea germinates only in an idea that is free from the mist of ignorance, from the phantoms of superstition and fetichist obsessions. The majority of Humanity have their minds in a state of lethargy; let us awaken, through a positive and free education, the possibilities that are concealed therein. The humanity that is in our hearts will see and act better when it is directed by intelligence.

IV.

The central commandment of the human consciousness is this: That the idea be converted into Action. It is thus that our sincerity will be known and how we shall know our power. That commandment takes us, besides, to the natural law of harmony, because humanity means harmony of the opposites. Let us use always as an example the dualism of Nature where everything, however, contributes towards a unitarian harmony.

Matter and spirit? Let us spiritualize matter.

The individual and the multitude? Let us individualize the multitude.

Art and brute work? Let us embellish creative effort.

Religion and science? Let us take faith to truth.

Proletariat and capital? Let us socialize the means of production.

Barbarism and culture? Let us civilize the peoples.

God and the church. Let us divinize man.

Let all human activities, remaining within the confines that Nature has assigned them, keep the vital ties among themselves; let them all, each one through its particular effort, tend to the full development of individualized humanity.

V

Pacifism is the principal axis of humanitarianism. Let us convince ourselves not only of the pacific destiny of man, but also of its pacific origin; the primordial sociability at the time of its ape-like ancestors, and the anatomy of the human body show that the primitive man had no other weapons than numerical solidarity and his intelligence.

Let the pacifist action pursue, therefore, in the first place, the awakening of primary pacifism. Hatred has succeeded in injecting itself in the hearts of men because of the multiplication of wars. Through the knowledge of the human origin, of the conditions of development of civilization and above all of consciousness, we shall have "organism of Humanity" and will fortify the individual pacifism in ourselves. By explaining to everybody that wars, especially in our times, are in vain from every point of view, since they give results which are contrary to those sought, we shall fortify pacifism in the soul of the people.

Using as a basis the scientific, biologic and economic principles, etc., we shall be able to give pacifism the force of conviction that determines the action. The commandment of consciousness: Thou shalt not kill! (which means to respect life, all life), will then join the vehement desire of the heart; Let peace be with you! (which means fraternity among individuals and harmony among the **interests** of the free people).

Internationalism is the second axis of humanitarianism. It has its origin in pacifism as the branches in the trunk of the tree. It has always existed under various names. The horde or race solidarity, the alliance between nations or social classes, the associations between groups scattered throughout all the continents—and also the division of work between individuals and peoples—are nothing but forms (some embryonic and some hybrid) of internationalism or rather of interdependence.

Interest prevails on and above all. The economic internationalism is recognized throughout the world, even though it still has the form of political imperialism. Technical internationalism is enhanced with each progress, such as that of the airplane for instance, or that of the machine that replaces the brute work of man. The internationalism of science is indisputable; truth flows to all cardinal points, as the song of the poet, as the word of the prophet. . .

From a Drawing by D. Chun.

Culture and art of the various nations have a common essence; the same roots serve to draw the sap from the same soil; only the flowers and the perfumes are different. And this is what constitutes the splendor of the garden of Humanity, in which there are harmonized in the submission of the same destiny, the national, social or personal individualities.

VII.

The tendency to Unity: here is the essencial significance of Pacifism and Internationalism. Peace between nations and the economic, technical, scientific and cultural internationalism prepare the supreme unity of Humanity. Tendency to unity admits the most diversified progress—variety in unity.

By means of moral unity whose law is the agreement between the idea and the act; by means of the psychophysic unity, that is, the equilibrium between the body and the spirit; by means of the social unity which is the harmony of the interests of the various **non-parasitic** classes; by means of the national unity, synthesis of all the individual and social unities of a certain geographical region and without an aggressive character to other nations; by means of the unity of the race of the continental unity which embraces the national unities bound together by the same civilization; through "cultural patriotism" or through the necessity of a pacific, economic expansion; by means of all these progressive unities, we shall direct ourselves towards the universal unity of Humanity.

The tendency to the unity of the species has existed from the dawn of man. It had its starting point in the realities of the "organism of Humanity." Let us be conscious of this tendency; all human activities tend towards the creation of the **one and only** or single State of Humanity; that "universal State" will be the social expression of the biologic reality of Humanity and of the technical, economic, cultural and spiritual Progress of the latter. Finally, that "universal State" will disappear in the conscious organism of the whole Humanity.

VIII.

Civilizing evolution: here is the method of Humanitarianism. This is the result of all the principles and it is only a continuation of the natural evolution, directed by the intelligence and power of man.

The fruit does not develop or germinate before having roots, a trunk, branches, leaves, flowers and above all, before having extracted the sap from the earth. The same is true of the individual, of the people and of Humanity. They must have all the elements and the necessary time. Each thing at its time! It is through a gradual ascend from one summit to another that the ideal is realized. But never in a definite manner; always through insensible transformations, by virtue of natural impulses, because of a conscious will!

There is no perfection, but only a tendency towards perfection. The revolutionary method belongs to those who believe that the ideal may be conquered fully and that it is possible to anticipate the future. A revolution gives birth to another revolution, in the same manner that a war brings another war in its trail. True revolution is only the final state of evolution.

Utopists and traditionalists are slaves of the Absolute. The present should be a living systhesis of the past and the future; let the monkey and the superman fraternize in the man of today who is a simple link in the chain of life that ascends in an infinite spiral.

IX.

Love and Freedom: There are the "weapons" of humanization, to be handled in accordance with the one and only law: **Knoweth thyself!** By emancipating oneself from a tradition that has turned parasitary and from the egocentric love which manifests itself only through hatred; by purifying ourselves in the wide and deep river of humanized life, it is possible to come to really loving one's neighbor and to defend his freedom as one's own.

Force in the social domain and intolerance in the moral and intellectual domain have no other effect than to determine a force and an intolerance that are opposites. The tyrants—classes, States, races—that used to oppress the majority of humanity, have perished through their disproportionate overgrowth. They have grown to exhorbitant proportions, forgetting or refusing to learn, that there are also other tendencies of growth and preservation. It was the weight of their own force that choked them.

The doctrinaries—either lay or ecclesiastical—the tyrants of the soul and the hangmen of free thought believed (and still believe) that the soul and the spirit of Humanity may be locked up in social and spiritual molds. If it does not correspond to the meanders that are being practised naturally the tendencies of the individual and the species—the "ideal" mold breaks. The progress of civilization exceeds by far the moral progress:—let your interior humanity and that of all the social individuality correspond to the true humanity of the planet.

X.

It shall be today and not tomorrow when you will begin to humanize yourself. Do not wait for outside orders, and merrily obey your own command. There are so many generations that whisper in your heart and so many treasures gathered around you, that are waiting to reflect themselves in your consciousness.

Free yourself, even though the fetters hinder your feet! what avails a free body if the spirit is chained?

Love and educate your neighbor unceasingly; what may a free spirit do in an ignorant and enslaved society?

Be a man, and as multi-sided as possible, but above all, be constant in the execution of your daily task. And you may be able to tell no matter who and when:

"I have elevated myself above my own **individuality**, having tired of bad heritages; I have elevated myself above the **Class** in which my work placed me; I have elevated myself above the **Fatherland** where I was born accidentally, and above **Society** which speculates regarding all my needs and all my acts; I have elevated myself above the **Race** that has modelled me, and of all this I am keeping only that which is beautiful, true and good, and I have incorporated it all in my own humanity, which remains active and true in this land where my species has grown.

And if someone should ask you for a certificate of your nationality just answer him plainly and resolutely:

"I have none. But I want to be, and as such I feel, A CITIZEN OF HUMANITY."

Eugen Relgis, writes the Spanish Journal "ORTO", is a young Rumanian writer, born in Jassy, in March 1895. In his early youth he became known in the world of letters with two or three volumes of poetry and several other literary works, in which there were outlined already the making of the great writer and deep sociologist of that small Balkan country. As the years passed he published works of different kinds: novels, essays, travels, etc., some of which have already been published in several European languages. In the last twelve years, and especially after the 1914-18 war, which had a great and decisive influence on his spirit and his ideas, he devoted his great talent as a writer and analyzer to the social problem in all its aspects and especially to the problem of pacifism, in which today he looms as one of the leading European figures fighting for universal peace. His works and all his writings regarding this problem are very well known throughout the various European countries, but principally in France and in the countries of Central Europe. In 1928 he contributed an article HUMANITARISME to the L'ENCYCLOPEDIE ANARCHISTE edited by Sebastian Faure. His two most recent books are "THE PACIFIST INTERNATIONAL" and "THE ROADS TO PEACE," the former published in French in 1929 and about to be printed in Spanish, and the second already translated into French and German and about to be published in those languages.

In 1931 he brought forth "THE VOICE OF PEACE." At present he is editing the review "UMANITARISMUL." Comrade Joseph Ishill, the originator of the Oriolle Press, at Berkely Heights, N. J., is planning to issue a volume of selected works by Eugen Relgis.

As MAN! was about to go to press, a package of printed writings reached us from Relgis. Most significant of all—the article "Humanitarian Principles" which appears on this page, happens to be the one that Relgis marked to be printed in MAN!

Star Ahead

Our battle this, we worshipful
And this our dearest duty,
Through narrow ways of hate, to love;
Through mud and mist, to Beauty.

Through all your tangled slough of lies
That challenge our endeavor
We push up, up, defying you,
Defying you forever.

Young race of the implacable
With hands forever flinging
Our surfine nets for crystal things,
Forever straining, singing—

We birds athirst for mountain crags
Held captive in your valleys;
We, children of the laughing stars,
Immured in mundane alleys!

We of the ether and the wind
Called out of place and season;
You'd bind us to your rotting laws
With ropes of "fact" and "reason"!

Yet, by the molten seal of Truth,
We know no other duty,
Only this thirst for Life Unchained,
This burning will to Beauty.

Ted Singleton.

THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT

Belgium

The first week of June comrade Hem Day and Leo Campion were arrested as army deserters. These two comrades wanted to make a test case out of their own. They had turned in their military books to the Ministry of the National Defense, signifying that they no longer considered themselves members of the military reserves and that hereafter they would refuse to bear arms. As a reaction to this gesture the secretary of the National Defense ordered them to service immediately and upon our comrades' refusal, the arrests followed.

The Anarchist Defense Committee and the War Resisters Group have launched a campaign of agitation demanding that comrades Day and Campion be set free.

Bulgaria

On the evening of April 13, 1933 comrade Panaiott Wassilief was assassinated by the police of Sofia. Together with two other comrades, Wassilief was coming out from a printing shop to which he had delivered a bundle of May-day leaflets published by the federation of workers syndicates. At the door they were met by a group of six detectives one of whom, after asking a few trivial questions, fired at Wassilief point blank. The press is trying to attribute the murder to a drunken policeman but the fact of the matter is that it is the beginning of a new phase of terrorism against the Anarchists of that country. It is to be hoped, though, that as in the past, our brave comrades will valiantly defend themselves against the brutal forces of reaction.

England

Dear Comrade Graham:—I greet you, and all the Comrades for the cause of Freedom and Liberty. I am a cripple and yet that has not deprived me from thinking what is wrong with the state of society, which in time might change, how long no one can foretell. Let us hope when the time arrives the Anarchists and others will be ready to bring Freedom.

I was convinced of this philosophy during the War by a dear old comrade, **James Tocatti**, now passed away, a personal friend of the late **William Morris**. Tho of a fiery nature and exceptionally clever, he was of a very sympathetic nature, especially to those who were not so cultured as himself. I cannot forget how much I appreciated him for his teachings and greatly miss him. He was born of well to do parents in Scotland, with a touch of Italian blood in his veins. His grandfather, Count **Tocatti**, fought a duel in Italy and killed his adversary and had to flee to Scotland under the protection of the Roman Catholic Church. But here comes the sad part: he married outside the Church and there was a vendetta set against him and he was murdered on the sands of Aberdeen.

I do not visit headquarters very much. They have meetings on the days I cannot get there, but I correspond with Comrade **Humphrey**, the treasurer of **"Freedom."** (London).

There are dangers in our movement if we are not careful to watch developments: to see that no one hinders progress, and not make way for any dictatorship.

I was at the Hallan Town Hall where **Snowden** made his first speech in London against the system of society, which he now upholds. How ridiculous it is for a man to place himself in the House of Lords, and join with those who are enemies!

I have just heard the speech which the King made at the Economic Conference now being held in London. Will this Conference bear any results? Will it solve the unemployed 40 millions' plight throughout the world? I doubt it.

Cordial and fraternal greetings to all,

Charles Blandy.

I. Caplan, the veteran Anarchist of the Jewish Anarchist movement in London, England, died in May of this year. He was not only one of the most effectual of propagandists, but also a writer, who filled more than once the position of editor on the **"Arbeiter Freund" (Workers Friend).**

France

Maria Goldshmid (M. Korn), the well known Russian Anarchist journalist and scientist, ended her life at Paris on January 18 (at the age of 63), three days following the death of her mother. She was a contributor to many Anarchist periodicals as well as to scientific ones, having held the degree of Doctor of Science.

United States

The Chinese Anarchist Movement in U. S. A.

The great mass of the Chinese in America are very docile, stubborn and unaware of the class struggle that surges around them, despite the suffering that they, as all other members of the ruled and exploited, are forced to undergo under the present system of society.

As to those who are "well educated"—they receive their training entirely from the side of the capitalist regime. As a result, they blindly believe in the present order, and in the Government that upholds it, and oppose any movement that expounds the need of a change in the social order. Under such circumstances, the Chinese comrades have a most difficult task to convert the mass to our ideas. Nevertheless, we do not discourage in the propagation of our Anarchist ideal to them, as we have shown in the past. We firmly believe that the masses will sooner or later join hands with us to emancipate suffering humanity.

It is true, that the Chinese comrades in America don't excel in numbers. Yet, upon the realization of the need for propaganda we organized the **"Ring Shih"** (Equality Society) in 1925, in San Francisco. In the course of its brief activity we encountered many obstacles from the Chinese burgeoisie class. Their intention was to break up our organization, but the result was just in the opposite direction. It was due to their action that the local police had threatened to destroy the society by arresting our active comrade **R. Jones**, and by confiscating all our literature. However, it only made us more militant than ever.

In spite of the fact that we have only a limited number of comrades, we had made an effort to publish an Anarchist monthly journal in the Chinese language called **"Equality"** in 1926. Its aim was to spread the Anarchist ideal to the mass and simultaneously to awaken them to a realization of the need for solidarity of the toiling class. As a result of our attempt, the Chinese Government ordered the post office not to allow the entry of our journal into China. It is only recently, that our journal was forced to suspend publication due to financial difficulties. We hope, tho, to resume its publication as soon as we find a solution to the financial problem. We have, also, from time to time, published many pamphlets which we have not only distributed free locally but which we have also sent, with other Anarchist literature, to other cities and countries.

R. Tong.

Louis Bozzetta

"Who am I? Only one of the common people,
"Only a worked out body, a shriveled and withered soul.
"What right, have I to sing then?"
—V. DeCleyre, "Out of the Darkness"

Louis Bozzetta is dead. Who was **Louis Bozzetta?** Few people know. Still fewer care.

To hobohemia's frowzy flophouses he was merely another "bum" or "dago"; to the County Hospital of Chicago he was merely another "case" for practicing students. Only to the few in the radical movement, acquainted with his zeal and sincerity, was **Louis Bozzetta** known as an "Anarchist."

Destitute like millions of others and horribly alone, he had neither prominence nor wealth nor position. But he did have an ideal; for that ideal he lived—a struggling creature shouting defiance in the mad whirlpool of capitalism that held him prisoner. For that ideal he would gladly have met the death that claimed him long before his time.

Frustration characterized **Luigi's** life from childhood on. As a youth he ran away from Italy to escape a tyrannical bourgeois father and a tyrannical bourgeois education. Chained to the wheel of economic struggle as soon as he touched the sacred soil of "thelandofthefreeandthehomeofthebrave" he became a rebel against the injustice that crushed man's body in the grind of ceaseless slavery, and gagged his soul with the myth of political freedom. And because he looked forward to the day when man, unhampered by bondage of any sort, would rise to his full proportions, reclaiming the earth that a few ruthless tyrants had wrested from him in their greed, he became an Anarchist!

Although passionately eager himself to be the spokesman of his ideals, this insignificant looking little person, with faltering English and little gift of oratory, met only with derision. To the **Sacco-Vanzetti** case, through with others gave coherence to his ideals, **Luigi** devoted all his efforts. Having achieved some modicum of economic security in his job as "cook" he contributed almost all he earned for propaganda. With his camera he took pictures of protest demonstrations (in Cleveland) and sent them to various publications. Any chance to be of service—distributing leaflets, selling literature, arranging meetings—found him eager and proud. Participation in the local strike protesting the Sacco-Vanzetti execution meant sacrifice of his job. The job went. The ideal remained.

But a man must work in order to live. Repeated efforts to find employment met with no success. In desperation **Luigi** borrowed some money, bought a wagon and a load of fruit, and traded his camera for a pony. On this skinny little beast he lavished all the devotion of a lonely individual. But the business was a failure. Before the day was over, **Luigi**, fearing to exhaust the pony, would retire to the barn, and here he tended to the needs of the animal while the latter feasted on hay and on the unsold stock. No, **Luigi** could not be a master, even if his subject was only a measly little beast of burden. It was a local comrade who summarized the situation thus: "If the road was weary, Louie could be expected to place the pony in the wagon, and carry both on his own shoulders."

In the winter of 1932-1933, **Luigi** (in Chicago at the time) was sent to the hospital with a strange malady. After a week's attention, and when his fever was as high as 101, the medical management in the glory of their wisdom, sent him out into the cold and desolate streets. "Someone else must have the bed," they said in dismissal.

On the Fourth of July, **Luigi** died in the County Hospital of, the county doctors said, "cancer of the lungs"—just one of the thousands of victims upon whose corpses the cannibal king of Capitalism thrives. On the Fourth of July, the day when innumerable Babbitts paraded the city streets shouting hosannas to God, the president, and their forefathers, one **Louis Bozzetta** died, unknown to God, president, or forefathers, dependent and enslaved in the country whose only independence is enveloped in a 157 year old declaration!

Luigi was not a great man. He was not a creative genius, nor an inspiring speaker. He was a sensitive, sincere **Jimmie Higgins**, doing all in his power, sparing himself not at all in his efforts to bring about a better system than the one that denied nourishment to his body and his soul.

Our martyrs are not only those who die on the gallows, or the firing squad. Every idealist, consecrated in unholy silence on the altar of the Great God Mammon serves to remind us that our task of social re-construction is a great one; that it will not be over until we realize a new Declaration of Independence, when this world is the sort of place that dreamers and rebels like our comrade, **Louis Bozzetta**, have labored to make

Sophie Fagin.

GRAPE FESTIVAL PICNIC
To aid in the publication of
MAN!
SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1933
at Comrade
Joe Piacentina's Ranch in Pleasanton, Cal.
Directions: Go to Pleasantown and inquire at any store on Main Street how to get to the ranch.
Music, Singing and Eats Galore

Editorial Notes

The article, "The Social Question of Education," by **Harold J. Laski** that appeared in the February issue, was taken from a lecture that he gave before the Association of American Teachers, and which speech appeared in full in the **"American Teacher."**

Comrade **Hippolyte Havel** writes from Stelton, N. J., that he is regaining some of the strength lost by his recent severe illness. He has also sent a few very interesting manuscripts that will appear in subsequent issues of MAN!

The letters from **W. B. Jones** and **Brith Smith** that appeared in the July issue on page 8 were addressed to the International Group of San Francisco.

Complaints have reached us from comrades of three cities in Canada that the last four issues of MAN! have not been received by them. It is imperative that all the readers in Canada, or anywhere else, who fail to receive MAN! should at once advise us of the fact.

In the first issue of "MAN!" there appeared an article "Maintaining Health," by Dr. R. L. Alsaker. It was taken from his book by that very same name. The reprint was made in good faith for the promotion of knowledge of health. To my great regret, I learn that Dr. Alsaker is now more interested in the promotion of making money out of his health knowledge than in the spreading of knowledge about health. His managing director of a "sun diet sanatorium," sun-diet service" and "sun-diet health library" has forwarded me a communication wherein it is said:

> ". . . the Doctor requests . . . that you kindly refrain from using articles written by him or printing his name in any way with your publication. He asks this because a continuance of this is likely to cause him serious embarrassment and it surely will cause embarrassment to this Institution."

Had I known the state of mind and activities of the "Doctor"—I certainly would not have soiled the pages of MAN! with his name or thoughts. Dr. Alsaker is in good company—when he emulates Bernarr Macfadden. It is no discredit to the fundamental ideas of Health and Diet when some of its sponsors turn their knowledge into money making devices of all sorts. It is only a discredit to the particular individuals involved. MAN! will find it possible to continue printing from time to time articles on Health and Diet from the pen of such as have not commercialized their knowledge. Dr. Alsaker and his Managing Director can therefore now rest in peace as far as the pages of MAN! are concerned.

The last eight lines of the poem "Poisoners of the Wells" by Attila which appeared in the July issue were unfortunately mis-set. They should have read as follows:

And Truth sits weeping by her countless graves.
The source of knowledge is old night again,
Upon those starless plains where nations teem,
I saw the welter of the eyeless herds
And slaughtered minds, and heard the ceaseless scream
Of ink-stained jackals and of carrion birds,
And knew it for a more abhorrent sight
Than mangled armies shrieking, shrieking to the night.

A New Book

Comrades who can read Italian will be pleased to know that a new book by the well known comrade **A. BORGHI** is just off the press. The title of the book is **"ERRICO MALATESTA—IN 60 ANNI DI LOTTE ANARCHICHE"** (Errico Malatesta through 60 years of Anarchistic struggle.) A biography of Malatesta with important historical notes written by a comrade who knew him intimately should prove of especial interest to all. The book consists of 300 pages and can be bought at the price of one dollar, by writing to: **EDIZIONI SOCIALI**—P. O. Station S. Box 30, New York City.

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Wherever there is a man who exercises authority there is a man who resists authority.—Oscar Wilde.

Financial Statement

(June 15th to August 15th, 1933)

INCOME

L. M. Eacken $1.00; D. Giovannelli $1.00; G. Cappiali $1.00; Angelo $1.00; T. J. Lloyd $2.00; Oak. Paper sale 15c; San Mateo picnic June 18th, 1933 $39.40; P. B. Gaeth $1.00; J. Buchie $1.00; A. Casini $1.00; F. Rapold $2.00; M. Semenoff $1.00; Angelo $1.25; M. Bombino $1.00; Express Co. refund 91c; I. Bettolo 48c; Philadelphia picnic June 11th 1933 (share) $6.00; Oak. Paper sale 30c; Santa Clara gathering July 4th, 1933 $3.50; A. Gerard $2.00; P. Boggiatto $1.50; Olive Walker $1.50; Uno $2.00; Chicago picnic July 5th (share) $5.00; P. Paolini $1.00; Billy Van $2.00; J. Petrovich $1.00; E. Bache $1.00; F. Walker $1.00; C. T. Norris $1.00; A. Straty $1.00; A. Giannini 75c; San Francisco affair of July 15th, 1933 (share) $7.50; P. Rovnenko $1.00; S. Frinch $1.00; P. Kovall 50c; Gairloff 50c; A. Bristol 30c; A. S. Galbraith $1.00; M. Candido $2.00; W. S. Sparks 12c; Butte Mon. Paper sale 75c; Pittston, Pa. picnic of July 1st, 1933 (share) $10.00; Grantwood Barber Shop 50c; Centro de Estudios Sociales $2.50; J. Buchie $1.00; T. Singleton 25c; Needham, Mass. picnic of July 4th, 1933 (share) $5.00; Mohegan Anarchist Group $5.00; Ignored 25c; L. Noli $1.00; Mariani 50c; A Friend 50c; Delfini $1.00; Chicago picnic of July 16th, 1933 $5.00; New York Circolo Cult. Prol. $1.00; E. Sommer $1.00; A. DeToffol $1.00; G. Friallegas 50c; V. Hierro 50c; P. Wakulchik 1.00; W. D. F. 50c; N. De Barba $2.00; H. J. Williams 27c; San Mateo picnic of August 6th, 1933 $45.00; Contributions to the picnic: J. Piacentino $1.00; E. Casadeli $1.00; S. Martin 50c; R. Andreotti $1.00; Collected at comrade Poli's $3.00; Oak. Paper sale 20c. Total $193.30.

EXPENDITURES

Rubber stamp, stationery, cards, stamps and miscellaneous	$ 6.07
Issue Nos. 8-9 Printing	80.00
Postage	28.00
Express	2.00
Total	$116.07
Total Income	$193.30
Cash on Hand June 15, 1933	26.06
Grand Total	$219.36
Total Expenditures	116.07
Cash on Hand August 15, 1933	$103.29

For any errors or omissions, please notify MAN!